

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /030 W
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R 161232Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3664
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LILONGWE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
AMEMBASSY MBABANE

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EO 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, OVIP (SOLARZ, STEPHEN), RH, SA, WA
SUBJECT: CODEL SOLARZ - VISIT TO ZAMBIA

REF: (A) STATE 153676, (B) LUSAKA 1603 (NOTAL), (C) MAPUTO 0785,
(D) STATE 160231, (E) STATE 155346 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: CODEL SOLARZ, ACCOMPANIED BY TRAVELING COMPANION, DR. ROSS J. BRECHNER ARRIVED LUSAKA JULY 10 AND DEPARTED JULY 13. FONMIN CODEL RECEIVED EMBASSY BRIEFING, MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER, LOCAL RHODESIAN ANC/NKOMO REPS, SWAPO DELEGATION HEADED BY PRESIDENT SAM NUJOMA, UK HIGH COMMISSION OFFICIAL, UNDP REP. AND MINING COMPANY OFFICIALS OVER DRINKS AT AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. FOLLOWING TRANSPORTATION MIX UP, CODEL REMAINED LUSAKA AFTERNOON AND NIGHT OF JULY 12. THIS PERIOD DEVOTED TO FURTHER EMBASSY BRIEFINGS AND MEETING WITH JOURNALIST ALBERT MVULA AT DCM'S. CODEL EXPRESSED KEEN DISAPPOINTMENT ON JULY 12 THAT HE DID NOT MEET WIDE-RANGE OF ZAMBIANS OR THAT EMBASSY UNABLE TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENT WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. HOWEVER, DELAYED DEPARTURE HELPED RECTIFY SITUATION AND HE DEPARTED LUSAKA JULY 13 EXPRESSING APPRECIATION FOR EMBASSY'S EFFORTS ON HIS BEHALF. END SUMMARY

1. FONMIN SITEKE MWALE IN WIDE RANGING CONVERSATION WITH CODEL
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SOLARZ EXPLAINED DEPTH OF ZAMBIAN FEELING AGAINST APARTHEID

IN SOUTH AFRICA, BASED ON HIS COUNTRY'S OWN EXPERIENCE WITH WHITE DOMINATION BEFORE INDEPENDENCE. IN REPLY TO SOLARZ'S QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER US BUSINESS SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM SOUTH AFRICA, FONMIN CONTENDED PULLOUT SHOULD BE COMPLETE AND THAT THOSE FEW BLACK AFRICANS WHO EMPLOYED BY US BUSIESS IN SOUTH AFRICA "WOULD SIMPLY HAVE TO SUFFER" FOR OTHERS IN SUPPORT OF LARGER ISSUES OF JUSTICE AND HUMAN RIGHTS. BOTH AMBASSADOR AND CODEL SOLARZ DOUBTED SUGGESTED PULLOUT REALISTIC AS MEANS OF ACHIEVING OBJECTIVES, ESPECIALLY AS US BUSINESS REPRESENTS SUCH A SMALL FRACTION OF TOTAL IN SOUTH AFRICA. NONETHELESS, MWALE CONTENDED THAT SOUGH AFRICA DERIVED SOME OF ITS POWER FROM ITS CLOSE ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE US. FONMIN THEN ALLEGED THAT US THROUGH THIRD PARTIES, AND DIRECTLY, WAS VIOLATING ITS OWN ARMS EMBARGO WITH SOUTH AFRICA. AMBASSADOR QUESTIONED THIS ALLEGATION AND INVITED FONMIN TO PROVIDE ANY EVIDENCE OF SUCH VIOLATION. CODEL SOLARZ PROMPTLY SECONDED THIS INVITATION, EXPRESSING HIS GREAT INTEREST AS MEMBER OF HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEES.

2. CODEL SOLARZ ASKED ZAMBIAN FONMIN TO SPELL OUT NATURE OF ZAMBIAN SUPPORT FOR ZIMBABWE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. MWALE RECOGNIZED THAT SOLARZ WAS PRESSING FOR SPECIFICS BUT SAID HE COULD ONLY SAY THAT FOUR FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS WERE COORDINATING THEIR SUPPORT.

3. CODEL THEN ASKED IF US SHOULD BE GIVING ASSISTANCE TO FREEDOM FIGHTERS. MWALE REPLIED AFFIRMATIVELY, SAYING US HAS TO BE "ON RIGHT SIDE". AMBASSADOR ASKED IF FONMIN MWALE, WHO KNEW US WELL AS ZAMBIAN AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON REGARDED THIS AS REALISTIC POSSIBILITY AT THIS TIME. HE REPLIED HE THOUGHT DEPARTMENT WAS STUDYING THIS.

4. SOLARZ ASKED WHAT US SHOULD BE DOING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT COULD MAKE A DIFFERENCE. MWALE PRAISED SECRETARY'S LUSAKA SPEECH. SAID ZAMBIAN GOVERNMENT BOTH GRATEFUL AND HIGHLY APPRECIATIVE OF "NEW US POLICY ON AFRICA". NOTED THAT OTHER AFRICANS AT RECENT OAU MEETING AT MAURITIUS ALSO FELT THE SAME. MWALE SAID IT SPECIALLY NOTEWORTHY THAT NO RESOLUTIONS WERE PASSED AGAINST SECRETARY'S PROPOSALS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA. CODEL ASKED IF ANY RESOLUTION WAS PASSED IN FAVOR OF SECRETARY'S LUSAKA LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SPEECH. MWALE SAID THAT WAS NOT NECESSARY AS IT GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD WITHIN OAU CIRCLES THAT NO CONDEMNATORY RESOLUTION REPRESENTED A FAVORABLE CONSENSUS. MWALE THEN SUGGESTED, IN REPLY TO FURTHER PRESSING FROM CODEL ON WHAT US SHOULD DO IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, THAT PASSAGE OF BYRD AMENDMENT REPEAL COULD BE HELPFUL. THIS THEME WAS PLAYED UP IN LOCAL PRESS COVERAGE OF CODEL'S MEETING WITH MINISTER. AT AIRPORT MORNING JULY 13 MWALE SEEMED SURPRISED THAT CODEL WOULD HAVE GONE INTO DETAIL

WITH PRESS ON SUBSTANCE OF THEIR PRIVATE CONVERSATION.

5. CODEL SOLARZ TOLD MWALE HE WAS PLEASED TO HAVE MET WITH ZIMBABWE LIBERATION LEADER ROBERT MUGABE WHICH DREW EXPECTED NEGATIVE REACTION FROM FONMIN WHO SAID HE HAD DISCREDITED HIMSELF AND WAS NOT WELCOME IN ZAMBIA.

6. MEETING WITH ANC/NKOMO GROUP REPS, EDWARD NDLOVU AND NYATI, RESULTED IN UNUSUALLY FRANK DISCUSSION OF DISUNITY WITHIN ANC. NDLOVU'S PORTRAYAL OF ANC DISUNITY CONTRASTED WITH ROBERT MUGABE'S VIEWS (REFTEL C), WITH NKOMO GROUP WEARING WHITE HAT AND ZANU SUPPORTERS CAST AS THE OBDURATE BLACK HATS UNWILLING TO IMPLEMENT AND SUPPORT A UNIFIED ANC STRUGGLE HEADED BY NKOMO. SUGGESTION BY CODEL THAT SOME FORM OF GUARANTEES TO WHITES MIGHT BE NECESSARY PART OF TRANSITIONAL PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE MET STONEY DISAPPROVAL. ANC REP POINTED OUT SUCH GUARANTEES WOULD BE PERPETUATION OF RACISM. NDLOVU EMPHASIZED THERE NOW NO ROOM FOR NEGOTIATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO CODEL QUERY AS TO WHAT USG COULD DO TO ASSIST NATIONALIST EFFORTS, NDLOVU ASKED FOR MILITARY AND FINANCIAL HELP.

7. SAM NUJOMA, SWAPO PRESIDENT, STRESSED TO CODEL THAT AMERICAN INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA PROVIDES SUPPORT FOR CONTINUED SAG CONTROL OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA. NUJOMA ALLEGED THAT US ARMS BOYCOTT OF SAG IS BEING VIOLATED. STRONGLY CHALLENGED BY CODEL AND EMBASSY REPRESENTATIVE, NUJOMA RETREATED SOMEWHAT BUT CLAIMED TO HAVE EVIDENCE TO SUPPORT HIS CLAIM. NUJOMA EXPRESSED COMPLETE HOSTILITY TO TURNHALLE CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS.

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8. VARCOE OF UK HIGH COMMISSION PRESENTED PESSIMISTIC VIEW AT RHODESIAN SITUATION. THIS INCLUDED PERSONAL, REPEAT PERSONAL, OBSERVATION THAT ONLY PRESENT OPTION FOR UK TO EFFECT SITUATION WOULD BE MASSIVE US SUPPORTED BRITISH MILITARY OCCUPATION OF RHODESIA TO OVERSEE TRANSFER OF POWER. VARCOE ADDED HE RECOGNIZED THIS IS NOT REALLY AN OPTION. HE REGRETTED THAT POINT HAD NOT BEEN MADE STRONGLY, OR REPEATEDLY ENOUGH TO RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS THAT SOLUTION THROUGH FORCE NOT LIKELY SERVE THEIR REAL LONG-TERM INTERESTS.

9. UNDP REP OUTLINED FOR CODEL MEDICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND FOOD PROGRAMS CARRIED OUT IN BEHALF OF ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES, STRESSING THAT SUCH REFUGEES ARE NOT NUMEROUS. HE PLED IGNORANCE WHEN ASKED ABOUT TRAINING CAMP LOCATIONS AND NUMBERS OF ZIMBABWEANS RECEIVING MILITARY TRAINING IN ZAMBIA. UNDP REP SAID IT WAS INEVITABLE THAT ZIMBABWE WOULD SUFFER GRAVE ECONOMIC DISLOCATION IF MAJORITY RULE IS ACHIEVED BY FORCE OF ARMS, SINCE THIS WOULD LEAD TO DEPARTURE OF MANY IF NOT MOST OF TECHNICALLY QUALIFIED WHITES.

10. IN SOMEWHAT STORMY MEETING OVER DRINKS AT RESIDENCE CODEL SOLARZ AND RCM MANAGING DIRECTOR PHIRI (WHO FORMER CHAIRMAN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF UNIVERSITY COUNCIL AND CLOSE CONFIDANTE OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA) EACH TESTED THE OTHER'S PATIENCE IN DISCUSSION COMPARING LIVING AND WORKING "STANDARDS" OF ZAMBIA'S MULTIRACIAL SOCIETY BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE. OFTEN EMOTIONAL, PHIRI TOOK OFFENSE OVER ISSUE AND AT CODEL PROBING INTO ZAMBIAN DOMESTIC POLITICS WHICH HE FELT "NONE OF AMERICA'S BUSINESS". PHIRI WAS JOINED IN DISCUSSION BY HARPER, ALSO OF RCM WHO SAID LIFE FOR WHITE EXPATRIATES BETTER BEFORE INDEPENDENCE BUT "STILL GOOD". CODEL SAID LATER TO EMBOFFS HE NOT INTERESTED IN COPPER MINING INDUSTRY OR ECONOMY GENERALLY AND QUESTIONED WHY CONTACT WITH PHIRI AND HARPER SET UP.

11. AT MEETING WITH DAILY MAIL JOURNALIST ALBERT MVULA, CODEL ASKED ABOUT DIVISIONS WITHIN ZIMBABWE ANC. MVULA PRESENTATION OF SPLIT WITHIN ANC PARALLELED EXACTLY THAT ADVANCED BY ROBERT MUGABE (REFTEL C). THIS NOT SURPRISING SINCE MVULA SAID HE HAD BEEN A STUDENT OF MUGABE AND HAD EARLY ON IDENTIFIED MUGABE AS MOST LIKELY CANDIDATE TO LEAD A FREE ZIMBABWE. FURTHER, HE TOLD CODEL HE HAD LEARNED THROUGH HIS SOURCES OF CODEL'S INTERVIEW WITH MUGABE AND WHAT WAS DISCUSSED.

COMMENT: ON MORNING OF SCHEDULE DEPARTURE, ULTIMATELY DELAYED BY 18 HOURS, CODEL EXPRESSED TO THE AMBASSADOR HIS DISSATISFACTION OVER THE NUMBER AND QUALITY OF PEOPLE HE HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO MEET DURING HIS VISIT. HE STATED HE HAD MADE CLEAR (REFTEL A) HIS WILLINGNESS TO WORK FROM 7:00 IN MORNING UNTIL 9:00 AT NIGHT AND STATED HE WAS DISAPPOINTED AT NOT BEING BOOKED FOR WORKING BREAKFASTS, LUNCHEONS, AND DINNERS. AMBASSADOR POINTED OUT TO CODEL THAT EMBASSY HAD MADE CLEAR IN ADVANCE OF HIS VISIT (REFTEL B) THAT POST HAD BEEN FREQUENT FOCUS OF WEEKEND VISITS WHICH HAD STRAINED OUR ABILITY TO PERSUADE ZAMBIANS AND OTHERS TO GIVE UP THEIR FREE TIME TO RECEIVE VISITORS. CODEL WAS NOT RECEPTIVE TO THIS ARGUMENT, AND MOVED TO CRITICIZE THE LOW LEVEL OF CONTACTS PROVIDED, PARTICULARLY FAILURE OF EMBASSY TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT ATTEMPTS HAD BEEN MADE TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA. AMBASSADOR SAID THAT ATTEMPTS HAD BEEN MADE TO ARRANGE APPOINTMENTS WITH ALL PERSONS NAMED IN INSTRUCTIONS FROM DEPARTMENT. HOWEVER, IN SOME INSTANCE PEOPLE REQUESTED WERE NOT IN TOWN, IN OTHERS THEY WERE ENGAGED IN ACTIVITIES WHICH MADE THEM UNAVAILABLE. IN CASE OF PRESIDENT KAUNDA, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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HE WAS TAKING NO APPOINTMENTS OVER WEEKEND SINCE HE WAS IN MOURNING FOR HIS NIECE. THESE EXPLANATIONS WERE NOT WELL RECEIVED. CODEL APPEARED TO HAVE MODIFIED HIS NEGATIVE VIEW OF HIS LUSAKA STOP BY THE TIME OF HIS DELAYED DEPARTURE ON MORNING JULY 13. THIS CHANGE FOLLOWED HIS MEETING WITH FONMIN AT NOON ON DAY OF HIS ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED DEPARTURE (APPOINTMENT HAD TO BE RESCHEDULED FROM 9:00 TO NOON SINCE FONMIN HAD BEEN CALLED TO URGENT CABINET MEETING). CANGE ALSO MAY HAVE REFLECTED RELAXED MEETING WITH ALBERT MVULA AT DCM'S RESIDENCE DESCRIBED ABOVE. AT HIS DEPARTURE, CODEL EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR EMBASSY EFFORTS AND DESCRIBED HIS LUSAKA STOP AS WORTHWHILE. WILKOWSKI

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